

A  
VINDICATION  
OF THE  
CONDUCT  
Of a Certain Eminent  
PATRIOT:

VIZ.

- I. On his refusing to accept of any Place of Profit.
- II. On his refusing to be one of the Secret Committee.
- III. On His Voting against the Repeal of the Septennial Act at this Critical Conjunction.

In a LETTER from a Member to his Friend in the Country.

*by W. Pitt-Rivers.*

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The SECOND EDITION.

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L O N D O N :

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BY T. A. J.

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## S I R,

THE Surprise you exprefs to me in your laft, to have receiv'd on the Report of Mr. P. giving his Opinion for a Septennial Parliament, is no more than what was the Cafe with Numbers, who are much nearer the Scene of publick Action than you; the Vulgar who are hurried away by wild Imaginations, to encrease the firft Tale they hear, ran buzning about that he had agreed to connive at the Corruptor, and fome of them pofitively averr'd on their own Knowledge, that he was, as they phrafe it, *brought over*: At this the moft fanguine of us began to droop, and there were not wanting thofe who did not fcruple to fay, that the Oppofitson was all Illufion, and after this they wou'd recant the Opinion that there was any fuch Thing as an honeft Man.

If thofe who are upon the Spot are alarm'd at the Behaviour of this Gentleman in the late Debate, and are yet diffident what Conjectures to make of his future Conduct, or whether they are to foregoe all Hopes in him, and truft in others who have never yet appear'd fo remarkably ftrenuous in the generous Caufe. If fome in Town are thus embaraffed and fluctuating

between Expectation and Despair ; well may you at the Distance of your Situation be much more in doubt, where every minute Circumstance can't so readily be related, and where every Report must be heighten'd by the Number of Mouths it must necessarily pass through before it reach you. For we well know, that the World is fond of any Tale that feeds its Appetite of Scandal, since Self-conceit, so natural to all, seems in some Sort to make every one that censures another his Superior. And I must inform you, Sir, that the late Cormorant of the T——y hath his Agents and Whisperers up and down, who are employed to spread and propagate Distrusts of those Gentlemen who have hitherto so steadily adher'd to the true Interest of their Country ; they sculk about from Coffee-house to Coffee-house, and mix in all Parties of Conversation that are simple enough to admit them, dropping suspicious Sentences, and if that won't do, uttering downright Falsehoods to prepossess the credulous Multitude with mistrust of their best Friends ; Calmness, Moderation, and cool Proceeding, in our Patriots, is by them branded with the odious Appellations of Inactivity, or what is worse, Partiality to the Author of our Wrongs ; no Wonder then, that a Proceeding, seemingly contrary to the Inclinations of the People, should be the standing Butt of their sarcastic Raillery ; or what it should be heightened into much more than it really is.

In all the Addresses of the Constituents to their Members, the Repeal of the Septennial Act hath been one of the constant Topics, they seem to make it one of the fundamental Conditions of our future Liberty, no doubt but they think



think so; but if any Gentleman in the House, after well weighing, and maturely considering the Nature and Consequence thereof should think that the same at this present Conjecture may be prejudicial to the great Design now carrying on in particular, if not dangerous to the Constitution in general: Is he to blame for giving his Reasons for such an Opinion? Is it not his Duty both to his King and Country, the Interest of which are and ought always to be inseparable? Is he to be branded with the Name of Recreant, and be deem'd false to the generous Principles he hath all along so warmly urged in the true Interest of his Country, because upon a better Knowledge of the State and Constitution than most, he happens to differ from a common receiv'd Error? Is then the glorious Name of Patriotism, the most noble Passion that glows in the Heart of Man, nothing but a Weathercock to veer with every Blast of vulgar Breath? How often are the People mistaken? And do they not sometimes revile the steadiest Assertors of their Liberties for differing from their Fancies, tho' they judge better for them than they themselves are able to do. Was not this the Case, a few Sessions of Parliament ago, when a Member of this Metropolis, whom no one will dispute to be a steady and unbiass'd Patriot, formed a Scheme to pay the National Debt, and reduce the legal Interest to *Three per Cent.* which in the Opinion of all thinking Men would have effectually answer'd the Purpose design'd; yet so high was the Noise of popular Tumult against it, that this very worthy Gentleman lay under the Imputation of veering to the Side of the Corruptor, and becoming the Tool and Dupe of a Minister;

Minister ; such too is the Case with Mr. P. To oppose the Repeal of the Septennial Act was a Stumbling-Block to the Multitude, who had set their Hearts upon a Triennial Parliament, tho' I hope the Reasons alledged will convince you, that at present such a Repeal would be not only imprudent, but unsafe and dangerous ; and that this Gentleman shew'd himself a much better Patriot by being against it than he wou'd have done by blindly giving it.

I know, Sir, you were one of his Electors, when he represented *H—don*, that you always constantly adhered to him, notwithstanding Ministerial Influence found Means to creep in and subvert his Interest amongst some of ye. The Request therefore you make of being informed of his late Conduct, and the Measures he hath pursued since the Change of the Ministry, is a very just one, and shall be readily complied with ; nor am I more induced to this out of a Regard to the Principles this Gentleman hath always professed, than by the Reason you yourself assign for making this Request, which tho' pretty blunt, I think is a necessary Question to be asked by every Elector at this Conjunction, that is, Whether you have for a Series of Time given your Voice for a Representative who, as you conceived was a firm and unbiassed Patriot ? or whether deceived by specious Appearances, you have elected a Man, who for fifteen Years was only playing a Farce of disguis'd Hypocrisy, and at last avowing himself a rank Dissembler ? Nor is your Allusion to that excellent Piece of Mr. *Addison's*, the Tragedy of *Cato*, at all disagreeable or improper, when you ask me, whether in this Gentleman you are to look for the Character of *Cato* or *Sempronius* ?

Whe-

Whether with *Sempronius* he shou'd say,

*Let me alone, ——— I'll conceal  
My Thoughts in Passion ('tis the surest Way;)  
I'll bellow out for Rome, and for my Country,  
And mouth at Cæsar 'till I shake the Senate.  
Your cold Hypocrisy's a stale Device,  
A worn-out Trick: Wouldst thou be tho't in Earnest?  
Clothe thy feign'd Zeal in Rage, in Fire, in Fury!*

Or with *Cato*, at that Time, the sole Strug-  
gler against that Oppression, which was pouring  
in upon the *Romans*, on all Sides :

*Remember, O my Friends, the Laws, the Rights,  
The gen'rous Plan of Power deliver'd down,  
From Age to Age, by your renown'd Forefathers,  
(So dearly bought the Price of so much Blood)  
O let it never perish in your Hands!  
But piously transmit it to your Children.*

As to your last Question, which is most ma-  
terial, seems to be the Occasion of all the rest ;  
I must answer you in the Affirmative, that Mr. *P.*  
was against the Repeal of the *Septennial Act*, that  
at first indeed it astonish'd many Persons, as I be-  
fore observ'd, and amongst others yourself ; but  
I hope to remove your Prejudices by the Sequel,  
wherein I shall particularly review and consider  
his Behaviour upon the Change of the Ministry  
that it was entirely agreeable to the Tenets he  
had always declar'd, that all Things consider'd  
his voting against the Repeal was of a Piece with  
the rest, and uniform to his former Conduct,  
which was not to run a Tilt at all Government,  
but to establish it upon a firm Basis and the Prin-  
ciples of the Revolution, and I hope after hear-  
ing



ing the Reasons I shall alledge, you will impartially weigh and consider the same; when, I am sure, you and all unprejudic'd People must allow that he has done his Duty hitherto both to his King and Country; and not by ill tim'd Taunts and causeless Reflections drive him from your Service, as others have done at a Crisis when their Presence and Assistance is most wanted and requir'd.

To discuss this Matter as we shou'd do, it will be proper to go back a little, and take a short View of the remaining Spirit of Party in this Nation; a Spirit highly injurious to us, and which now it seems by the good Offices of our Friend to be almost lay'd, our late Political Conjuror is endeavouring to rise up against us again in it's most horrid Forms and dreadful Shapes; this Gentleman whose Wand hath long confin'd the National Devil to his own Circle, till he thought proper to send him abroad to plague the rest of his Fellow Subjects; that is, he, who as other Magicians circumscribe their Familiars within the Pale of their own drawing, hath revolved all the Money of *England* into one Round (and that Money is the Devil, no one will dispute) 'till he hath sent it forth in the Shape of Bribery to madden all the Land, finding his Arts of Corruption fail him, hath Resource to an Aftergame, and those whom he can't win with deceitful Promises, he alarms with false Fears and needless Discontents; drove from his strong Holds he strives to defend himself beneath the weak Entrenchments of a deserted Party; he revives the almost Joke of Whig and Tory, and thinks that those Principles which rais'd him to a Pitch of Grandeur, few Subjects have possess'd, shall defend him from a Fall, or prevent an injur'd People's



People's Enquiry into a long Series of Mismanagement ; he ranks all Degrees of what Principles soever they are in Relation to Government under the two before mention'd distinct Head of Whig and Tory. " I am a Whig, says he, " their Principles at first setting out were Liberty, and a firm Attachment to the present " happy Establishment. Upon this Basis I rose, " and notwithstanding what Blunders I may " have committed, what Depredations I have " have connived at, or what publick Plunder I " may have shar'd in ; yet still I am a Whig, " and whoever offers to call me to an Account " for my Mismanagement is a Tory, and an " Enemy to Monarchy ; these are the plain " English of his fallacious Arguments, and let " the World judge whether the most abandon'd " Hireling or Robber of his Country could produce worse ?

On the other Hand, let us suppose that the Gentleman whose Conduct we have now under Consideration, shou'd reply ; " Sir, It is true " we came into the Administration of publick " Affairs together, the Spirit of Party then run " very high, those call'd Tories seem'd to me " to level their Aim at absolute Monarchy and " extending the Prerogative of the Crown beyond it's due Proportion, the People were to " be swallow'd up in the Gulph of regal Authority and our whole Constitution subverted ; " the Whigs seem'd to oppose this, their Principles seem'd founded on Liberty, and as such " I embrac'd them, if you afterwards deviated " from them, and under the specious Pretence " of herding with us, to gratify your insatiable " Ambition pursued those very Measures we " opposed, tho' you account yourself still a

B

" Whig,

“ Whig, it was not we that chang’d but you :  
 “ our Designs were still the same, which when  
 “ we found you undermine we were the first and  
 “ most strenuous, and I hope shall continue to  
 “ be the last to oppose you.”

This slight Sketch of the two Gentlemen may serve to account in some Measure for the particular Enmity which hath been too conspicuous for some Years past between two Men, who before liv’d not only in good Harmony, but in more than common Amity with each other; the One made his Party a Stalking Horse to raise himself to the highest Pitch of Power a Subject could attain to, as the other declined that Party and voluntarily sacrificed his Title, Power and Favour to oppose those dangerous Principles his Companion embrac’d, and which if pursued much longer must have ended in the total Subversion of our Liberty, Rights and Privileges: Hence then grew the Animosity between these two particular Persons, both which at different Times had acquired the Name of Patriots for one and the self same Reason; Mr. *W—le* in the last Parliament of Queen *Anne* was as strenuous in detecting Frauds and pursuing Plunderers as he hath been since guiltily industrious in encouraging and Screening them: Mr. *P—y* who at that Time was concomitant and pursued the same glorious Measures with him, when he found that his Rise had made him dizzy and precipitated him into the very Vices he had condemned in others, nobly broke from him, and became an avow’d Enemy to the Schemes, tho’ not the Person of Mr. *W—le*. At this *Æra* then we date the first Step towards the Abolition of the two distinct Parties of Whig and Tory.

The

The Generality of Whigs who had espous'd Mr. *W—e's* Measures from an Opinion that he intended nothing but the good of his Country when they found him run counter to that all sided with Mr. *P.* to condemn his Conduct, the moderate Partisans of the Tories joining in upon the same Principles, the Distinction that was generally made was only of those who were servilely attached to the Minister, and who from attending at Levees and hunting Preferment in all Shapes were stiled Courtiers ; and of others who from a steady Adherence to the Principles of the Revolution and a Defence of the Rights of the People were dignified by the Title of the Country Party. From this Alteration it was the constant and daily Employment of a Set of hireling Writers, whom the Minister had pick'd up, to vilify all Persons of what Distinction soever they were who found Fault with his Administration, and to represent them, as since his Removal he himself hath openly done, Enemies to the Government ; but I wou'd fain ask, whether from the Beginning of the World to this Day, he can give one Instance where the landed Men, the money'd Men, and chief trading Men in all great Cities and Towns, whose private Prosperity depends on that of the Common Wealth, endeavour'd to turn the People against a good Government or were disaffected to it themselves ? I remember some Remarks that were made at that Time by a certain Gentleman in answer to a doughty Performante from the Ministerial Quarter ; the hireling Writer breaks forth in a Sort of a Triumphant Manner on the Opposers to his Master whom he calls indiscriminately Tories in the following Manner : “ It has been the Merit of the present Administration that they

“ have kept all such Persons out of Trust and  
 “ Employments — they have not participated  
 “ of the public Revenues, nor grown rich by  
 “ the Spoils of the Government. — So, (says  
 this Gentleman in answer thereto) You see it is a  
 Point settled amongst the Dependents of the  
 Minister that Persons in Trust and Employment  
 are to grow rich by the Spoils of the Govern-  
 ment, he might as well have said, it is the Merit  
 of those by whom I am hir’d to write, that they  
 have suffer’d none to plunder the Public but them-  
 selves.

The same venal Pen before mentioned, to  
 his insolent Triumph, says in another Place, “ It is  
 “ far from my Thoughts to alarm myself or o-  
 “ thers with the Apprehension of their Num-  
 “ bers or their Projects, at present they are few,  
 “ despicable and starving, and this for a very  
 “ natural Reason that they are out of Power.  
 Here, says he, he is at it a gain, that those that  
 are out of Power are to be despicable and starv-  
 ing : I will tell this Gentleman, that to be des-  
 picable and starving were never reckon’d proper  
 Subjects either for Insult or Ridicule, unless to  
 such low and base Minds as the Author and his  
 Directors ; in the next Place we can tell him  
 there was a Time, when those out of Power  
 were not despicable and starving, nor were those  
 in Power suffer’d to grow rich by the Spoils of  
 the Government ; and if he wou’d give us to  
 understand that the Case is otherwise now,  
 there is as much Folly as Insolence in the Reflec-  
 tion.

We may thank this Author’s Paymaster that  
 we have no such Thing as Whig or Tory at pre-  
 sent ; they have destroy’d those Distinctions by  
 endeavouring to keep them up, and the Success  
 fo



of their Measures has been answerable to the Wisdom of them in this as well as in every other Instances ; but if by Tories he means such People as have thought it a Point of Duty and Honour to oppose some Friends of his, there are many of them People of the greatest landed Estates in the Kingdom ; and tho' I will not deny but things may be so manag'd in a Nation, that what with high Taxes, the Decay of Trade and Fall of Rents, Men of considerable Estates may in a few Years be much reduced in their Circumstances, yet I can by no Means think it the Business of a Writer on that Side of the Question to take Notice of it, unless he thinks himself obliged to blunder, out of a peculiar Compliment to his Masters.

The Ministerial Scriblers were at that Time very alert, and triumph'd exceedingly upon some weak-minded unstable Gentlemen in the House being drawn over to vote in Behalf of their Patron and his Measures ; nay, so high did they swell their Exultations that they cou'd not help insulting their Fellow Fools for becoming of their Number ; for still speaking of the Gentlemen in the Opposition to Ministerial Influence whom they always called Tories : “ They  
 “ have, says he, been abandon'd and betray'd  
 “ by such of their Party, as the Government  
 “ thought fit to take off by a Pension, or an  
 “ insignificant Place, without trusting them on  
 “ their own Part, making them hated and despised by all their former Party ; — and  
 “ in another Piece he calls them depending  
 “ Instruments.

The Answer to this Part is of so particular a Nature, that I must beg Leave to transcribe it for you ; with this Observation, that is to me  
 highly

highly improbable to imagine that any Gentleman who has embraced such strong Sentiments of Liberty, and always so freely express'd them ; that it is morally impossible that that Man who has treated false Patriots with the just Ignominy and Contempt they deserve, should at last become one Himself. The Answer runs thus—

“ Sure it would make any Man laugh to see these  
 “ Renegadoes and Deserters from their Princi-  
 “ ples so scurvily treated by the very People  
 “ whose Drudgery they are doing. Lord ! to  
 “ what a Degree of Contempt are they fallen !  
 “ here we see them used as common Prostitutes  
 “ sometimes are by the Rakes and Bullies of the  
 “ Town after they have submitted to all their  
 “ Debaucheries they are abus'd and kick'd out  
 “ of Company.”

When this Author tells us so frankly that the publick Money of *England* is disposed of in Pensions to bribe People from their Principles in order to make them depending Instruments upon his Paymasters ; I know not what to think of it ; sure it must be a Calumny upon his very good Friends, it is a Sentence he has thrown in without their Consent or Knowledge.

As much as these Gentlemen are afraid of a Coalition, it seems they design'd to form a Coalition themselves ; a Coalition of all those who by their Situation may hope to be enrich'd by the Spoils, &c. for I think that Pamphlet is or at least ought to be address'd to none but them ; if they cou'd have suppos'd that any other Person should have had a Sight of it, they should have writ it with a little more Caution ; for they give us such Openings to judge of their Practices, that I can't help applying to them what a witty Man of Quality said of a profligate

gate Clergyman; "That tho' they have a Multitude of Vices they want one more, and that is Hypocrisy."

The Minister had at that Time render'd himself so odious to the People, that all Parties and Persuasions united themselves against him. As is before observed, he himself contributed to abolish the Names of Whig and Tory, by driving the Nation into a necessary Union to withstand his evil Practices: Thus did he inadvertently affect the Coalition, which his Opposers did so strenuously argue for.

Mr. P. whose Head, Hand and Heart were always ready in their Country's Service, thought proper to give the Publick some little Pieces to open their Eyes, and serve as an Antidote to the ministerial Poison, which was spread *gratis* all over Town and Country by Postmasters, Excisemen, &c. What Success he had in this Attempt, the whole Nation knows, and is beholden to him for. The avowed Design of all those Pieces it is well known was to establish monarchical Liberty, and restore our Constitution on the Principles of the Revolution, but as the various Operations thereof are much better expressed by the ingenious Author of the Dissertation upon Parties, than I am capable of doing it, I hope you will pardon my giving you his Declaration upon that Head in his Dedication of that Piece to Sir R. W. which is these words: "I proceed to observe that you are in the right most certainly to retort by yourself or otherwise in the best and smartest Manner that you, or they can, whatever the Writings published by the *Craftsman* may contain, which you judge to be injurious to yourself or reflecting on your Administration. The Public will judge upon the

whole Matter; the Laughters will be for those who have most Wit, and the serious Part of Mankind for those who have most Reason on their Side. Again, as to Affairs of Peace or War, public Occurrences, domestic Management, foreign Negotiations; in short, the News of the Day, and the current Business of the Time: weekly and daily Papers, or more elaborate and anniversary Treatises, are properly employ'd to explain in your own Favour the Series of your Conduct; to refute *Caleb*; or which is still more easy, and by some thought as useful, to keep up the Cavil on one Point, 'till a new one is started that draws off the Attention of the World. All this may be called fair War; and whoever prevails in the Judgment of the Publick; the Publick will reap Information from the Contest, and will have Reason to be pleas'd with these Appeals, which present an Image of the Custom that obtain'd in the antient Commonwealth of *Greece*, and at *Rome*, where the greatest Interests of the State were debated, and the greatest Men in those Governments were accused and defended, in public Harangues and before the whole People.

But the Writings of the *Craftsman* have not been confin'd to those Subjects that are personal or temporary. The Cause of the *British* Constitution hath been pleaded in the whole Course of those Papers; every Danger to it pointed out; every Security or Improvement of it explain'd and press'd. I said that the Cause of our Constitution hath been pleaded; for the Constitution hath been attack'd, openly, insolently attack'd, and is so every Day by those against whom the *Craftsman* so often employ'd his Pen. Who cou'd have expected at this  
Time,



Time, and under the present Establishment, to hear the Necessity of maintaining Standing Armies, in Times of Peace, even against the People of *Britain*, who maintain them, contended for and asserted? Who could have expected to hear a Dependancy, a corrupt Dependancy of the Parliament on the Crown, contended for and asserted to be a necessary Expedient to supply a want of Power which is falsely supposed in the Crown; as if our Fathers had opposed, and at length destroyed that Chimera called Prerogative, formerly so dangerous to our Liberties, for no other Reason but to furnish Arguments for letting loose upon us another Monster more dangerous to our Liberties by far? Who could have expected that Attempts to revive the Doctrines of old Wiggism, and the Principles and Spirit of the Revolution in Opposition to such manifest Contradictions of them all, would give any Umbrage, or cause any Alarm amongst Men, who still affect to call themselves Whigs, and pretend Zeal for a Government that is founded on the Revolution, and could not be established without it? This could not have been expected, I think, and yet so it is.

Thus much may suffice to prove, that, tho' Mr. *P.* and Sir *R. W.* were both Whigs, and set out together upon the same Principles, yet when Sir *R. W.* thought proper to deviate therefrom, Mr. *P.* left him, nor did he herd with Tories (as had been said) merely thro' Opposition, or a dissatisfied Ambition.

But the Tories perceiving that he had the true Interest of his Country at Heart, came into his Measures thro' a general sense of the common Danger.—Here then was your true Coal-

tion, all Men of all Parties agreed that the Nation was sorely aggrieved under the Administration of Sir *R. W.* and sacrificing all other Resentments, their only Aim was to carry Truth to the T——ne and displace him.—And this only Good, as I know of, hath he done to us, that his continued ill Conduct hath united all our jarring Interests in one.

I have dwelt the longer upon this Head, to obviate a Doubt you raise of the Stability of our Patriots, from an Insinuation dropt by the grand Deceiver in his own fulsome Vindication, where he says he hath thrown himself into the Hands of the Whigs, from whom he expects the utmost Moderation—That they stept into the Breach to protect him, which you say seems to imply, that he is sure of some of the Leaders of the Opposition, and thence ground your Apprehensions of the falling off of the worthy Gentleman who is the Subject of this; but we have no reason to be dismayed hitherto, therefore, tho' it is good to be upon our Guard, let us not form unto ourselves far fancied Ills, and Dangers out of reach.

No, Sir, his Behaviour hath been steady and unbiass'd, and all his Actions of the same Tenor with his Professions of Sincerity for Years past—Upon the change in the Ministry, which was chiefly, if not wholly owing to his Integrity and Assiduity, it is well known that he would not accept of any Place of Profit, tho' we are credibly informed that he had the Refusal of several. His Answer, I have been told, was to the following Effect, “ That he should be  
 “ glad to contribute to his M——y's easy Go-  
 “ vernment, and the Good of his Subjects, by  
 “ aiding and assisting in his Councils to the ut-  
 “ most

“ most of his Power, but as he never had any  
 “ Ambition to be meanly gratified with lucra-  
 “ tive Posts he begg’d Leave to be excused  
 “ from accepting any.” And yet after all for  
 one Step which is not exactly pleasing to the  
 Multitude, this uncontaminated Virtue shall be  
 call’d in Question, and the Man, the just, the  
 honest Man arraign’d without knowing his  
 Motives or Reasons for so doing: It is all mere  
 Pique and Malice, which the Outcasts of a de-  
 serting falling Party would magnify into a  
 Crime, in order to draw your Attention from  
 the great Culprit, by raising in you a Mistrust  
 of your Defenders: At the very first Opening  
 of the glorious Srene, they were busy upon the  
 same Head, upon which it was remark’d as fol-  
 lows, which is a strong Caveat against any of  
 their pernicious Doctrines that had you or the  
 rest of my Countrymen attended thereto as they  
 ought to have done, there would have been no  
 Occasion at present to endeavour to remove the  
 Distrust, which then you had never entertain’d,  
 upon such idle Whispers then spread abroad, it  
 was said.

The Report that hath of late been industri-  
 ously spread thro’ Town and Country, as if the  
 Person to whom all the Grievances of the Nati-  
 on are owing, as well as all his Coadjutors were  
 to be screen’d by those, who to the Nation’s  
 Joy have got the better of him must come from  
 the Father of Lies, the Corruptor himself.

For any Gentleman or Set of Gentlemen to  
 engage to stand betwixt Public Justice, and any  
 Man who must, who certainly will be pursu’d by  
 the Vengeance of three Nations, is a Thing that  
 surpasses all Belief, it is a Thing impossible to  
 be effected, and whoever should undertake it

may be ruin'd by it himself. Those that argue that such a Thing may be undertaken, because something like it hath been done before, do not distinguish betwixt the different Circumstances of the Cases. It is allow'd there was once a Man, that work'd himself into Employment by an infamous Bargain for protecting public Robbers, but it was a Man that could never get in by any other Means; it was a Man that had been convicted of a mean Corruption in a low Office, and of Consequence had no Reputation to lose. The Affair in Question was but one single Transaction. The Persons who at that Time had a great Influence in the public Councils, and who had other Reasons for bringing this Man in, had not made any great Fortune by the Iniquity.

To explain the Matter a little more clearly, the Ministry promoted a Project which had most pernicious Consequences, and the Nation became extremely out of Humour with them, when they found they had lost their Reputations: They then thought him fit for their Company, and not before; they took him in upon very Scandalous Conditions; he accepts these Conditions with Joy, he was not frighten'd at the Infamy he must incur by the Part he was going to act.

The Persons then in Business thought it prudent to retire for a while behind the Curtain, 'till the People's Resentment shou'd abate; and altho' this Man drew the Publick Odium from them upon himself, yet they were soon asham'd of his Company, and resolv'd in a very little Time to give him his Conge; their sudden Deaths prevented their doing that good Turn to the Publick; To the Misfortune of the Nation  
he



he still stood his Ground, and hath maintain'd it ever since by Practices juſt as honourable as thoſe by which it was then acquir'd.

The Circumſtances of thoſe who are now aſpers'd, as if they deſign'd to Skreen are very different from thoſe of the Perſon before mentioned. They are many in Number, they are the Favourites of the People, they have already gain'd immortal Honour by a long, well-conducted, ſteady Oppoſition : Their Virtue hath been tried ; Titles and great Employments cou'd not move them. — Can any one imagine that they will change all on a Sudden ? Will thoſe that have ſtood Proof againſt Corruption themſelves protect it in other Men ? Will they wantonly caſt away what all the Silver of *Peru*, and Gold of *Mexico* is not able to purchaſe, I mean their *Honour* ? Will thoſe who by perſevering in an Oppoſition that hath been attended with the Labours of Hercules, and who have at laſt work'd things up to their preſent happy Situation, deſtroy their own Work ? Will thoſe that have kept their Honour untainted, adopt other Mens Crimes and take upon them the Infamy of what they never acted in, or ſo much as adviſed; nay, which they openly condemn'd ? — The thing is not credible.

Thus much are we to gather, Sir, from the paſt Conduct of our Patriot what we are to expect for the future ; and if he fails us, Sir, (which from the good Opinion I have entertain'd of him I cannot think poſſible) I will ſubſcribe to your Opinion, and as a very *Timon*, renounce all Commerce with Mankind, and acknowledge that there is no ſuch things, as Honour, Truſt or Sincerity amongſt Mankind ; — but, I hope, I ſhall have no Occaſion. There is indeed a current

rent Report that he is to be created *Earl of Bath*, whether true or not I cannot determine; and all I shall say to the Matter is, that Regal Honours shovr'd down on Subjects for good and worthy Actions is the greatest Earthly Happiness Mankind can know, the conscious Pride of Virtue ennobles the Royal Gift; But if this is meant or accepted as a Gewgaw to prevent further notional Services, or bestow'd a Counterpart to a late Earl's it will fix such a Leprosy upon the Possessor, such an indelible Stain upon Honour and Virtue that all the Salutory Waters of the Place from whence the Title is deriv'd can never heal, or wash out the Ignominy.

Yet let us not not too rashly censure. — We may be mistaken in Appearances as you are, when you ask, “ if this Gentleman hath that Regard to his Country which he hath always profest why did he not endeavour to be one of the Secret Committee? His Abilities, and Skill in the hidden Arcana of State, as well as the Diligence he hath used to trace the Corruptor thro' most of his former oblique Mazes and Windings, must not only have animated the others, but been of considerable Services in detecting the more hidden Mischiefs which he only wanted Power and Authority to unravel. Now that Power is given and that Authority delegated into proper Hands, why doth he fly off who has set other to work, doubtless had he given the least Intimation that he desired be to one, he wou'd have had a Majority of Ballots before several that are now in?

Your Question here, Sir, seems to be put with great Force of Reason, and may startle those who are unacquainted with the true Cause; I allow, Sir, it is almost out of Dispute, that if  
this

this Gentleman had express'd a Desire to be one of the *Twenty-one* ; that the Ballot for him would have equall'd, if not exceeded any of the others ; but, Sir, he hath often assigned what, I think is a very sufficient Reason for not desiring to be one, *viz.* That he had once in a Debate in the House, which was carried to a great Height on both Sides, dropt an inadvertent and hasty Speech, that for that Cause (then disputing) and the other Injuries done to his Country he would never quit Sir R. W. 'till he had seen an End of him. This though spoke with the Warmth that might justly become a Senator pleading in Behalf of a plunder'd and aggriev'd People ; might be maliciously retorted upon him if Things should be carried to the Extremity which Justice seems to require, therefore to avoid Censure, and give the Delinquent Room for a fair and impartial Acquittance or Impeachment, he declined being one of the Inquirers into his Conduct : And is he to be blamed in this ? Is it not humane, brave and noble ? 'Tis a hard Case that a Gentleman who takes so much Care to guard against giving Offence, should be liable to Misconstructions and Invectives for such Care.

After thus far endeavouring to vindicate our true Patriot from the Surmises and Misapprehensions which you and many well-meaning deceived Persons may have entertained of him, I am prepared to answer your Objections to his Voting against the Repeal of the *Septennial Act*. All that we know of it from the Votes of the House is, That on *Wednesday* the 31<sup>st</sup> of *March* last, the Members being appriz'd that such a Motion was to be made, ordered, that the Serjeant at Arms attending the House should go  
with

with his Mace into *Westminster-Hall*, the Court of Requests, and the Places adjacent, and summon the Members there to attend the Service of the House; who being returned, the House was moved, that an Act made in the First Year of the Reign of His late Majesty King *George I.* intituled an Act for enlarging the Time of Continuance of Parliaments appointed by an Act made in the sixth Year of the Reign of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, intituled, an Act for the frequent meeting and calling of Parliaments, might be read; and the same being read accordingly, another Motion was made, and the Question being put, Whether leave be given to bring in a Bill to repeal an Act made in the first Year of the Reign of his late Majesty King *George I.* intituled an Act for enlarging the Time of Continuance of Parliaments, appointed by an Act made in the sixth Year of the Reign of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, intituled, an Act for the frequent meeting and calling of Parliaments—it passed in the Negative.

Before the Revolution Parliaments were held in the utmost Confusion and Irregularity, they were called, dissolved, or prorogued as best suited the arbitrary Inclinations of the Monarch, stirred up by the Persuasions of his Creatures and Sycophants, sometimes they were elected every Year, at others they sate for several Years together; but soon after that happy Change which established our Liberties and Constitution, the Care of Parliaments came under a proper Enquiry, and was fixed to be called anew every three Years. This Monarch, who was engaged in a dangerous and expensive War, to preserve the Balance of Power and Liberties of *Europe*,  
found



found great Inconvenience in the frequent renewing his Parliaments, and the vehement Struggles that were occasioned throughout *England* thereby; it is well known how much his glorious Schemes were embarrassed by these Means, nor had he in all probability left the War unconcluded to his Successor, had it not been for this; one Septennial Parliament would in all human Judgment have fixt the unvariable Balance of *Europe's* Freedom: But for want of this his Expeditions and Supplies were retarded, his Forces unpaid, and his extensive Views abroad balked by private Feuds, and selfish Quarrels at home. His late Majesty coming to the Throne in a Time of Peace, it was thought proper to abolish the triennial Parliament, which had occasioned so much Confusion, and enlarge it to the Time it now is. This Method hath been held unalterably ever since, and sure to change it now would be the greatest Piece of Folly and Stupidity in the World; we are already engaged in one War with *Spain*, and very likely may in another with *France*; which if we should, it is hardly to be imagined that it will be concluded in two Years, no just about that Time we may be in the height of Confusion and involv'd to what in all Appearance without the manifest Interposition of Providence must be a bloody and for some time lasting War, and just at that Crisis to be at civil Dissention and Feuds amongst ourselves about chusing new Representatives, to what a Plunge must it drive us, the present Parliament seems inclinable to assist the distress'd Queen of *Hungary*, and to maintain the ballance of *Europe*, but shou'd another of a contrary Temper be elected two Years hence; wou'd it not expose both his Majesty's

Government and the welfare of his People to foreign Invasions, cou'd he be able to carry the just War we are at present engaged in if without proper Assistance and Supplies from his Parliament; and how are those Supplies to be granted, if the Sessions probably most business shall be required to be done shall be spent in Altercations on hearing Petitions for undue Elections; this wou'd be the Effect of changing the present Parliament for a triennial One, much worse wou'd it be if it were reduced (according to the chimerical Notions and Desires of some) to an annual one, the same Disadvantages wou'd be trebled, and we shou'd run into a Gulph of Destruction with our Eyes open.

No let us wait the Event of what our glorious Deliverers are designing for us, we have no Reason to misdoubt them, hitherto they have done as much as the Time wou'd allow, and our utmost Wishes and Desires; if after this Parliament Heaven shou'd bless us with Peace and Tranquillity it will then be time enough to solicit a Change from the Septennial to the Triennial; but surely any Man in his moderate Senses must allow if he wou'd calmly consider, that this is the most improper Time in the World; all the Nations of *Europe* are now at War, or upon the Point of engaging in one; our own Nation not only involved in one but the Mysterious Secrets of twenty Years bad administration to unravel and render void, some alliances to be recover'd that had quite deserted us, and others to be confirm'd that were upon the Point of so doing — These I dare say and much stronger motives than I am able to produce engaged M. P. — to vote against the Repeal; the same Love of his King and Country which hath all along

along actuated him, and not a narrow Selfish Dependance or Servile Complacence to the will of any one.

In this then, I think he still Shines the true Patriot and much more so, than any Gentleman who valuing himself upon the Pride of noble Blood, and hurried away by an impetuous Warmth of Temper because every thing he demanded was not done the moment required. Such extravagant Flights of Heroism may take with the Vulgar who are governed by the same unruly Disposition, but to men of a Sedate way of Reasoning they seem little better than Starts of Madness. The angry Man may fret and fume because his eager wishes are not immediately answer'd, 'till he overthrows the very means he took to accomplish them; but the wise Man walks an easy Sober Pace and pursues the great End of his Designs calm and unruffled thro' all Dangers, by mildness and steadiness removing all obstacles. Let us Consider that Justice too rashly precipitated will by some be deem'd cruelty, not that I am for encouraging a Mistaken Clemency.

To conclude Sir, may Heaven continue Harmony among the worthy Gentlemen who have so long and so ardently struggled for us, nor let us quarrel with our best Friends, those who are capable of effecting the great Work they have undertaken. Let us learn to prefer the Constant and Steady to the waspish or Indolent, to revere those who stand by us in our utmost necessity, and to despise those who basely desert us at such a Crisis, remembering this old Maxim that to lye still in time of Danger, is Calmness of Mind not Magnanimity; when to think well, is only to dream well.

F I N I S.

the first of the year, and the second of the year.

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